576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [648] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
55 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

778 796 /63 cont./ The Parappo

The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

796 554 612 778 801

1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 778 184 796 A number of further differences should be pointed out which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
978 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

793/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[184] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 769 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

554 Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of
602 relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is con-
612 centrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one
769 hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the
182 other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

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3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

[769] The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The [773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
714 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

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1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of the historic facts.

612 794 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 794 554 Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
798 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë [103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected with this place.

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1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngngna ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang. — that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 778 796 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.

In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 778 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exercise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

634 612 621 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua. When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to [361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

571 612 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the [778] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie [764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

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3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friederici relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are [782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was
778 unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The
[24 annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place
796] here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably
241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere.
634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament
778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:
602 By worship community we understand a group of people
182 who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 In addition to this worship community, there are a num-
744 ber of extremely weak and small worship communities in a
778 group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or
602 several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong
182 people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to
778 the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

1:Chabot--103 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

644 778 182 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

/78/ Chapter II

Social Status

114 565 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
● [778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
627
684

3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

1:Chabot

~~Chabot~~ E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585
602
291
301
482

A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

769
778
352
415

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called
[293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc., and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 291]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam. Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These ornaments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was probably the only native jurisdictional community on southern Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornamentships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

Halmahera OH12
Toradja OG11
Bahau OC5
Borneo OC1
Nias OD11
Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

Ba 778 826 827 H 778 827 N T 778 827 I 778 826 827 Bo [755 778] I [844] S 782 776 777 778 I 844 M 778 755 777

[150 cont.]

liver hurt me," said a Dajak, "when I heard that my house had burned down." The Malayans speak of sakit hati, "pain in the liver," that is, "angered," and ketjil hati, "piqued"; the Tobélorees of Halmahera, when they hear something shocking, say, "my liver is burning."

Only among a few peoples in the archipelago is the heart itself looked upon as the central seat of mana (Niassans, Kailians of central Celebes).

The blood, however, is regarded as one of the principal carriers of much [151] mana; it throbs in the body wherever a pulse is seen or felt. Blood therefore plays an important role when sacrifices have to be made to avert disasters, as a means of driving out sickness, as a symbol of unity. Above all, it is believed to possess purifying powers. For this reason, when a house is dedicated, blood is painted on the beams and posts. In case of sickness, the Dajak of Sarawak build a miniature house which they sprinkle with blood and place in the home of the patient; for three days no stranger may enter so that the patient is able to have the full benefit of the power residing in the sprinkled blood, since he has lost so much by his sickness.

The placenta and umbilical cord possess great magical power for the newborn child, and they are given the name of the child's parents or called his "younger brother" (1).

1. The name for the placenta in various languages of the archipelago means "young brother."

A Sundanese kiai (teacher) used the following formula as an incantation: "His Majesty, King Djati Koembara, my brother, who was a placenta and is now an angel in the land of the north, promised at the time of my birth to protect me from storms, the detonation of guns, long swords, and spiced foods. I now ask for this protection seven times by day and seven times by night."

The placenta is buried with care; it is preserved during the first year of the child's life (among the Makassarese) for use in case of sickness to supply the missing life force, etc.

Sumatra OD1
Batak OD5

Java OE1
Minangkabau OD10
Makasser O66
Malays AN5
Borneo OC1

[156 cont.]

J 778 A human being can be a fetish. Native princes are often honored as such. The famous regent of Lebak, in Max Havelaar, was credited with the power to hold back a freshet.

S 643 793 The priest-king Singa Manga Radja, conquered with difficulty in 1901 by Captain Christoffel, was a fetish. He was in his mother's womb for seven years, his tongue was covered with hair, and a word from him was capable of killing men and animals and of devastating a whole region.

J 778 825 777 Animals are also honored as fetishes. The turtle doves on Java, the perkoetoet, are an example. During the day they hang in a cage on a bamboo pole near the house and in the evening they are brought indoors. We heard once that in Bandung such a bird was purchased for 120 guilders because it was just the color that is so popular. Even the wings of a dead perkoetoet are gladly bought and preserved as fetishes.

J [411 293 843] Fetishes, above all, are objects that have been handed down by the ancestors to following generations, the so-called poesaka. Among these poesaka, regalia and weapons, especially [157] the kris, are primary. The regalia of Jogjakarta, for instance, can cause a childless couple to be blessed with children. It is

Mi 778 said of the regalia of Minangkabau that a person whose shadow fell on them would drop dead as a result. It is believed that the

● Ma ● 778 regalia of southern Celebes have special power; they have already been discussed fully on pages 108 and 109.

Ml 777 773 There are all sorts of strange stories in the native folklore about the kris poesaka. The Hang Toeah, a Malayan story that takes place in Malacca, is an example. The hero of the story kills a great number of people with a miraculous sword.

Br 778 425 Other poesaka are also well known as fetishes. Among the Dajak [Dyak] there is a kind of holy jar, belanga or tempajan (martavanen). Sometimes the Dajak pay as much as 4,000 guilders or more for such a jar, and even the sherds of one have a high value.

Bt 778 751 A well-known fetish in the Batak country was the pangoeloe-balang, a crude stone image that was placed at the entrance to a village to protect it against calamity.

[417 cont.]

565 643 554 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 293 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

793 778

643 778 669 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments. For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an attempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

[636 cont.]

752 776 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the southern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female 778 782 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also regarded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house, generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking; at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo, gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these 796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights, dice games, etc.

776 778 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which [637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the general sketch.

791 756 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave. As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-Heekeren.

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always accepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked between ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it appeared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling, but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong, [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa, and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later. That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general. He added that there was a press in Makassar.

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala,
bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the
maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are
ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are des-
cendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear
that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even
look different. But he added their women are often prettier
than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women,
however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that
keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc.
might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on
saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the
women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to
touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it
was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added
that the Ar[illegible]ne from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch
in 1931 l[illegible] big house in the kampong. His family is
still there [illegible]ding slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regardi[illegible] he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher [illegible]he punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was
based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was
impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for
it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for
"noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
● 778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them
gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has
none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all
are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals
and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati
in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few.
They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the
necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed
once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in
weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain
in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they
mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning
practices, the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old

1 [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru.
--Analyst]

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven ora or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe-
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her. 773 778

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows: 609 162

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

		Houses:	
1.	5.6	1.	51
2.	4.6	2.	13
3.	5.2	3.	49
Total	5.1		113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162 463

[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622] [178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
● 778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. *tjera tudju* (*no longer present*). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778● 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

7164 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

I 635 6068 6066 boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture. He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental speeches and on wall posters.

All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M 304 565 881 •778 852 535 Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of district Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three children being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!"

M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them.

M 778 ● 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong.

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We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng.

M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused.

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I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak.

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I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical

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7:Alisjahbana E-3 (1952-1953)1954 OBI Indonesia OBI
(ca. 1900) Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

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consisted of many objects, such as kris (creeses), banners, spears, shields. A group of golden ornaments, called the upatjara, were carried in a procession at the celebration of Garebeg. (See above.) These regalia were collectively called pusaka. Almost each item had a specific function, such as to avert epidemics, droughts, etc.[3]

M 778 554 293

The regalia of the Buginese and the Makassarese, called the gaukang were believed to have similar characteristics. Here it was a general belief that the regalia was the basis of the ruler's power. Without these regalia, a Makassarese or Buginese ruler would not be able to come to power.[4]

S 554 778 293

The regents, the highest nobility in the Prijangan, also possessed regalia. Ordinarily it consisted of kris, betelnut-sets, statues, shields, umbrellas, etc. and it was hereditary within the family. These hereditary ornaments were called pusaka too; a special room was customarily kept apart for them. Although these pusaka were treated with reverent care, the Makassarese and Buginese concept of the regalia's power did not exist.

Dutch sources pointed out that during the early contacts with the native chiefs, the pusakas were displaced on almost all occasions. In some areas they were also carried in a procession with the aim of blessing the tjatjah. In some areas the water with which the pusaka was cleaned was believed to possess curing power.

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3. J. P. Duyvendak, Inleiding tot de Ethnologie van de Indonesische Archipel. (Groningen/Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1946).

4. H. J. Friederich, "De Standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, vol. 90 (1933), pp. 448-502.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia
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except for the surviving nuclear families, or lineages, which maintain possession of groves of trees. These have in some instances been converted into arbitrarily formed land-owning units by reason of European or "negory" authority.

9. *The gaukang.*—In South Celebes there is an interesting institution known as the "gaukang" (also as kalompoan and arajang). This is the representation and symbolization of the vital spirit or soul of a regional community in a particular object of supernatural qualities.[22] The original fetish could be a stone, a gnarled branch, a flag, lance, plow or some other object. Later on, other elaborate accessories were sometimes added to the original one, and in some instances these secondary fetishes became substituted in the place of the original.

In breaking off from a parent, new communities became independent in their own right, even though they had no fetishes of their own. They did, however, remain second-rate in general status. Even in the Mandar states, where patrilineal sub-clans are described as being groups of importance, the communities are territorial, as elsewhere. The governor is the guardian of the fetish. There is great variety in the names and functions of the assistants and subchiefs. Originally each fetishistic community had its own council (hadat), and although war and the principalities, alliances and Dutch administration have had a great deal of influence on South Celebes social organization, underneath it all the regional community is the cell and primal form of social structure.

10. *The Balinese desa.*—The "desa," as the villages of Bali are called, is a community based purely on geographical contiguity. It is true that a kinship relation does bind the little-known religious societies of Bali together, but the members of these cults are scattered throughout a number of villages, and their function is limited to the joint worship of a deified progenitor and the maintenance of a temple for him. The reckonig of the relationship is patrilineal, except for some "old style" desa.[23]

The "desa" is a community which depends in the first place upon a common duty and will to keep the village grounds clean for the gods, and to carry on the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies called for by custom. There is considerable variation between the

[22] [The Dutch call this social complex "het ornamentschap." This would have to be translated "ornamentship." In English, a more effective equivalent would be "community fetishism."]

[23] [The distinction between "old" and "new" style desa is described by van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. I, pp. 464ff.]

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M /127 cont./

648 In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to
M the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was
643 brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with
T the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all over-
114 tures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts
648 to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, be-
871 cause the people did not want to know anything about this novelty,
177 from which they expected only disadvantages for their social
M life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid
648 behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his sub-
643 jects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any.
Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing,
they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M
648 The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the
643 gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or
[798] aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength
T of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the
648 deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of
these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the
ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our
god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never
T concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like"
[622] and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat
T untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

M The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely be-
648 cause of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe
M was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power
643 that emanated from his person was considered so great that an
[826] ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen
753 stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who
798 wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded
761 in making their way to him, but the one died already on the
return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

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Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

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La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

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When La Dondorio had listened to this tale, he considered how he could escape the danger: If the women take me as a mate, I shall not come away alive; let me thus manage on my way to get a supply of penes. Where he got them from is not known, but he continued his journey with a supply of male genitalia in his boat. When he was approaching the coast of the island, the To Ngojoe saw that a man was coming to them. They came out of their houses and rushed to the shore and ran to meet him in the sea, for he would oblige whoever reached him first, and the others would have to fight over him.

La Dondorio saw them approaching and he said to the penes: "These are the To Ngojoe, who want to climb into our ship. When they have come close, you must fly up and every one must enter into the arse (tanta'i, but the vulva is surely meant) of each of them, so that they cannot approach me." The genitalia did this so that every one of the To Ngojoe was satisfied. With other men the women stormed their vessel so that it sank and the man drowned.

When all were satisfied, one of the women said to La Dondorio: "You, La Dondorio, are truly a clever man, for you are the only one who is leaving here alive. Therefore we wish to give you something to show our affection for you. We shall give you a protective charm such that all your descendants shall have power over the means that we give. /129/ When you make use of it, it will have effect; so also when your descendants make use of it." In this way La Dondorio received the nine sicknesses.

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In former times people were very afraid of them. When a contagious sickness prevailed in Poe'oe-mboto, it was thought that it had been sent by the Datoe, and then rice and chickens were collected in order to go and pay him honor (mepoee). The people were convinced that the Datoe had released one of the nine sicknesses because he was angry at something or other. The sicknesses that La Dondorio had brought along were of all sorts: stomach-ache, headache, fever. The people then went